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AUTHOR St John, Jacqueline
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ABSTRACT

Because they tend to reflect dominant cultural values that are more obvious and taken for granted by historians, male stereotypes in radio serials, or "soap operas," have been ignored. They are prevalent, however, especially in the representative "Golden Age" productions of Anne and Frank Hummert. The Hummerts produced 46% of the serials current between 1932 and 1937, and 30% of those current between 1937 and 1942. Among the programs were "Jack Armstrong," "Front Page Farrell," and "Lorenzo Jones." In episodes of each drama, dialogue shows that male characters were verbally in control--their expressions were more rational and directly related to the situation at hand--while women's remarks were descriptive, obvious, and inane. The only exception is Sally Farrell, Front Page Farrell's wife. But while she accompanies him on his adventures, she is relegated to a voyeuristic position. To establish a firm correlation between episodic serial dramas with the reality of life at the time, to analyze the interaction of domestic and foreign events that became basic radio plot premises, and to correlate sex role and race role socialization with the social milieu, further research is required. (CRH)

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MALE STEREOTYPES IN RADIO SERIALS OF THE 1930s AND 1940s ©

Session Title: The Golden Age of Radio: 1925-1945

Session No. 33: Saturday, April 23, 1983, 1:00-2:30 PM, Suite 212, Popular Culture Association, Wichita, Kansas

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By: Jacqueline D. St. John, Ph.D.
Professor of History
University of Nebraska at Omaha
60th and Dodge Streets
Omaha, Nebraska 68182

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For too long social historians, broadcast historians and feminist scholars have neglected the study of radio's "Golden Age," the 1930s and 1940s; decades in which radio evolved into a major medium of entertainment. By 1950, Americans spent "more leisure hours listening to the radio than in anything else--except sleeping."[1] This theatre of the imagination also developed a national homogenity of thought, taste and preference with a national constituency for its programs, personnel and advertised products. By revolutionizing American society, it created a new segregation; broadcaster and listener were separated in distance and later, with delayed boradcasts, in time.

Time and spatial distancing from broadcaster to listener should be neither over-emphasized nor under-emphasized. It did, however, create a new segregation; the listener could be alone anywhere with the broadcast voice. Entertainment and information was not primarily shared as a public or collective endeavor but as a private individual activity.

American radio was also the product of American business; according to the president of the National Association of Broadcasters, radio was ". . . as much that kind of product as the vacuum cleaner, the washing machine, the automobile, and the airplane . . ."[2] Radio also mirrored American society and sometimes presented a distorted reflection; from this destorted reality audiences drew their self-images and aspirations.

During the last decade we have begun to investigate female stereotypes in broadcasting; radio's daytime serials, soap operas, "washboard

weepers," and "sudzy dramas" that were broadcast in a fifteen minute time slot, Monday through Friday between 10:00 a.m. and 4:30 p.m. The soap operas defined and delineated the continuing sagas of women's world, woman's domain and the continuing saga of soapworld.[3] As "products of a bourgeois culture" they were stylized glimpses into the dramatic potentials of living." One critic believes that they were "educative models" in a "commercial democracy" which "desseminated the conservative message necessary for a society to stay together."[4]

For example, Alvan Havig reminds us that "radio is attracting serious scholarship,"[5] as a mass entertainment medium, as a commercial enterprise and as an art form. To date, though, feminists and broadcast scholars have not analyzed male stereotypes in radio broadcasting of the 1930s and 1940s. Male stereotypes have been ignored perhaps, because they reflect the dominant values of American culture, and therefore, are more obvious and more taken for granted by contemporary historians.

Due to time limitations, I will discuss only those radio serials produced by Anne and Frank Hummert.[6] Both worked at the Blackett-Sample-Hummert (B-S-H) advertising agency.[7] When sponsors employed advertising agencies to produce their show, B-S-H became one of the major employers of actors, singers, directors, writers and show business professionals. In 1933, the Hummert production team introduced five serials; in 1935, four new serials and in 1936, four more. Between 1932-37 they produced 46% of radio's serials and 30% of those introduced between 1937-42.[8] In January, 1944, the Hummerts left B-S-H and established Hummert Radio Productions (formerly Air Features).[9]

As late as 1951-52, the Hummerts introduced a dozen new serials to network production.[10]

The following analysis will include the Hummert adventure dramas, "Jack Armstrong," and "Mr. Keen, Tracer of Lost Persons," and the daytime soap operas with male leading characters--"Front Page Farrell," "Just Plain Bill," and "Lorenzo Jones." All were tremendously popular during the late 1930s, 1940s and into the mid-1950s; the average run was more than fifteen years.

Who were the listeners and how did advertisers appeal to this radio audience? Male and female listeners were treated differently by advertisers and the program appeal for each was rigidly sex-role stereotyped. Charles Hull Wolfe, advertising executive of Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, Inc. and director of the Radio and Testing Bureau, gave the following advice regarding male radio listeners in his popular 1947 textbook entitled, Modern Radio Advertising:

> Men present definite psychological patterns and living habits which characterize them as radio listeners. Psychologists generally concede that compared to women, men are more intellectual, realistic, and objective; they go more by rationalization and are more influenced by facts. Studies show that men are somewhat less inclined than women to show keen interest in radio, and that radio has less influence over men than women, politically and commercially. Yet radio appeals strongly to men when it caters to their preestablished interests, and they spend about 1.3 hours per day and 2.6 hours per night in radio listening.[11]

According to one broadcast historian, the Hummerts were "fascinating" and "widely misunderstood." They supervised writers who often produced the "most banal of dialogue" yet Anne and Frank Hummert insisted on the highest standards in enunciation from their actors.

Thus, ". . . they would be derided by American males for a Romance of Helen Trent or a Backstage Wife but seldom thanked by those same males for a Lorenzo Jones or a Jack Armstrong."[12]

Almost without exception, radio serials were severely criticized by male listeners:

> At an early age you realized all the men on the 'women's stories' were helpless boobs. Yet there was no offense to be taken. This was 'ladies territory' and when you entered if you had to play by their rules. On your programs-Captain Midnight, Jack Armstrong, Tom Mix-the kids played a far more dominant role than you realized in real life. In soap opera land the men were de-emphasized. It was merely a matter of home-team rules.[13]

"Jack Armstrong," the All American boy featured an athletic teenager whose perilous adventures fighting pirates, hostile natives, unscrupulous criminals and death defying rescues were broadcast by Weaties, the "Breakfast of Champions." Jack Armstrong led Hudson High to perpetual victory in the 1930s and embodied in a fictional hero the most valorous of masculine attributes; strength, integrity, honesty, courage and of course, SUCCESS. If a modern ten commandments had to be written in the 1930s and 1940s it would have included the eleventh commandment: Jack Armstrong never cheats.

Several episodes of "Jack Armstrong" dealt with the ship Penguin and its assistance in arctic waters of the burning ship, the Pelican. The list of characters were: Jack Armstrong, teenager; Captain Campbell, Penguin; Mr. McGregor, First Mate; Billy, passenger, teenager; Betty, passenger, teenager; and Mrs. Margaret Northrup, passenger. The men were verbally in control; their expressions were more rational and related directly to the crisis of the burning ship "in black ice."

Betty's remarks regarding the crisis are descriptive, obvious and inane: "oh! oh! the flames are rising higher, dear me" while Mrs. Northrup says, "oh! oh!, she's on fire" and both women both say, "good gracious," oh! and goodness! during their eyewitness accounts to imminent catastrophe. The men, in contrast, say "gee" "hey" and "by jove" by way of commentary.

Only two solutions were proposed to rescue the Pelican's crew: one proposed by Mrs. Northrup and one proposed by Jack Armstrong. Northrup's plan was to assemble a plane on the ice from the Pelican's cargo and fly the crew over to the Penguin. Since the Wheaties commercial for this episode featured "champions of the air," champion aircraft pilots and skyaces, the solution has an air of contrivance; the men declared her plan impractical. Jack then proposed to carry a line across the ice to the trapped men, but the cpatain did not wish the "all-American boy" to undertake the dangerous feat; finally he agrees to the proposal because the fate of two dozen men imperiled, Jack has volunteered--he is "light and fast" and if he wears the captain's spike shoes the rescue mission has a greater possibility for success. If and only if Jack fails, Billy will undertake the same perilous adventure. Of course, the saga continued to its successful conclusion with a daily "cliff-hanger" and the routine, "tune in tomorrow fellas and girls, and the important message, "ask your mother to buy Wheaties."[14]

Anne and Frank Hummert also developed a detective series emulating "The Shadow" and entitled, "Mr. Keen, Tracer of Lost Persons" (1937-1955) featuring the kindly old investigator, Mr. Keen. J. MacDonald

in his broadcast history Don't Touch That Dial! Radio Programming in American Life, 1920-1960 states that the shows presented listeners with "moral models" while they entertained audiences and sold commercial products:

> . . . they also championed the simple pattern of Good over Evil, Truth over Lie, and Civilization over Anarchy. Ultimately, these programs were secular allegories of the middle-class, property-owning society which spawned them; and their heroes were agents of bourgeois America, there to tell criminals and citizens alike that crime did not pay, and that good was always victorious.[15]

The critics of the daytime serials were predominantly male and John K. Hutchens of the New York Times in 1942 concluded that relative to the soap operas, ". . . virtually every one who discusses them agrees on at least one aspect, to wit: most of them are terrible.[16] Less publicized was the assessment of Cynthia Lowry, who for fifteen years was a television and radio editor of the Associated Press, wrote a daily column and Sunday pages and who stated, "I used to laugh like a maniac at Mr. Keen, Famous Tracer of Lost Persons."[17]

Two of the more popular cases of Mr. Keen were "The Case of Murder and the Revengeful Ghost" and "The Bride and Groom Murder Case." In the former case of the revengeful ghost, there are six male characters: Keen; his partner, Mike Clancy; Iva Stacey, corpse; Alec Barnes; Charles Harper and an unidentified psychiatrist. Three female characters are involved in the plot: Lona Wade, fiancee who was to be married to Iva that week; Eva Fairchild, Iva's cousin, mysterious woman in grey recently released from a mental institution; and the deceased first wife, Teresa Harper Stacey, who on her deathbed, dying of an incurable

disease and insanely jealous, vowed she would kill Iva if he ever remarried.

The plot is fairly simple: Iva was faithful to his wife; Lona is convinced that Iva was killed by his deceased wife because she saw a mysterious figure in grey slipping out of the Stacey house before the discovery of Iva's murder; Barnes, a business associate of Stacey, was driven out of business by Iva and is discovered tied up in the Stacey mansion; Charles Harper, the man with a gun who tied up Barnes is the brother of Iva's deceased wife; Eva was committed to the sanitarium by Iva but wished to thank him for her "cure." Who is the murderer? Keen notes the imprint of "odd diagrams" on Stacey notepaper; follows Eva and identifies her; and learns her history. In the conclusion, almost deus ex machina, Keen arrives with a package including two of Teresa's dresses found in Alec's apartment (apparently without a search warrant), the knife and delivers the coup de grace; Barnes doodled the same "odd diagrams" found imprinted on the Stacey notepad. What was the motive? Barnes' business failure is the stated motive, but in an aside, the audience learns that Barnes introduced Lona to Iva. It is almost the classic case of the "lady or the tiger?;" listeners choose their own motive for Barnes' crime--the bourgeois capitalist motive involving business success and profits, or, the more "romantic" motive that Alec Barnes was a frustrated suitor and his love for Lona thwarted by Iva Stacey? The latter interpretation and subtle inference has overt sexual overtones present in most daytime and nighttime serials of the 1930s and 1940s.

Another Mr. Keen episode, "The Bride and Groom Murder Case" has

five male characters: Keen and Clancy; Ray Farnam, the distraught widower, married one week; Elliott Warwick, half-brother to the murdered heiress; and an unidentified medical physician. The three female characters are: Olivia Farnam, new bride and heiress, pushed from a New York City skyscraper restaurant balcony; Jane Warwick, wife of Elliott, former actress who disliked Olivia; and Mrs. Farnam, mother of the "groom"/widower.

Again, a simple plot for Mr. Keen: a $1,000,000 estate involved; Elliott, had sued sister at the time of her death for his share of step-father's estate; Mrs. Farnam, under questioning by Keen has a "pretend" faint but admits to being "insanely jealous" of Olivia, of following Ray and Olivia to the restaurant and concludes by confessing to her murder. To complicate matters further, Ray has a gun; Mrs. Farnam found a man's gold ring with a family crest on the restaurant terrace--either belonging to Ray or Elliott; and the latter is the beneficiary of a $50,000 life insurance policy.

Who dunit? Who does the ring belong to? Said ring is too small for Ray and Elliott; Elliott recalls that he gave his wife the ring as a love token, and Olivia gave her ring to Ray. The murderess, therefore, is Jane Warwick, who attempting to escape, falls through the window, nine stories to her death (well deserved, of course); an ironic death and an ironic justice. Why did Jane Warwick murder Olivia Farnam? The motive was marriage for money: Jane married Elliott only because she believed he was wealthy; then learned belatedly that Olivia was the heiress. The motive is obvious; materialistic gain, profit regardless of who is hurt or killed; profit at any cost.

Who is the villain? Jane Warwick. Mrs. Farnam is "guilty" of obsessive "mother love." Who is true blue for marrying a wealthy heiress for a 100% pure motive--love? Ray Farnam. Who solves the puzzling case and over so baffling to others? Mr. Keen . . .

Three other popular Hummert serials were "Front Page Farrell," (1941-1954), "Just Plain Bill," (1932-1955) and Lorenzo Jones," (1937-1955). "Front Page Farrell" featured a newspaper reporter who specialized in murder mysteries, crime in all its varieties and what appeared to many, "sensational" news stories.[18]

A typical episode of August 1, 1949, concerned a bank robber cornered in a Manhattan tenament and shooting it out with police. There were five male characters: David Farrell, crack newspaper reporter at the New York Daily Eagle; Mr. Munroe, advertising salesman at the Eagle; "King" Kerr, dean of bankrobbers; and two police officers, Captain Holland and Sergeant Hardy. Sally Farrell is the only female character in this episode.

The scene opens with Farrell and Munroe in the Eagle newsroom; Munroe, a "well-dressed man," has offered Farrell two tickets to the hit show, "Love in the Springtime." Both men are good naturedly arguing how great the other one's job is when David's wife, Sally Farrell arrives. Sally learns of the tickets and the Farrells plan to dine at a restaurant before attending the play, when the telephone rings. News is that "King" kerr, who has recently robbed a bank of $178,000, has been cornered by the police.

Immediately, all thoughts of dinner and show vanish; the Farrells rush to the scene of the shoot-out. David's interaction with his wife

contains the endearments, "honey, dear" and "darling." Listeners hear the sounds of gunfire and learn that they are machine guns. Captain Holland permits Farrell to accompany Sergeant Hardy's police squad up a back stairway. Upon emptying his gun, "King" Kerr shouts, "lousy copper, I'll get you just the same!" Then, Farrell and Kerr are seen wrestling on the tenament ledge; one of them falls before Sally's "horrified eyes." Which man in this deadly struggle, fell? Does one need three guesses? But the program concludes with usual cliff-hanger and the imperative to "tune in tomorrow" for the next exciting episode.

In this NBC radio drama, the men outnumber the sole woman, five to one. It is difficult to determine what, if any, contribution Sally Farrell makes to this episode other than decoration. True, it shatters a few stereotypes. One, that newspaper reporters are bachelors, either womanizers or misogyrists; on the basis of verbal intimacy and Sally's presence in the newsroom the listener infers that the Farrell marriage is a happy one. Secondly, Sally accompanies David to the scene of the police-criminal confrontation and witnesses David's "deadly struggle," with Kerr. Thirdly, although David is dominant, tough, strong and aggressive, Sally is adventurous in accompanying him on his news story; perhaps this is a precursor of the serial's more serious intention to promote marital togetherness?

The stereotypes for male and female behavior are none too subtle, men are dominant, tough, brave and women are passive. Sally watches Davis's courageous and unnecessary battle with Kerr. Another stereotype is that crime and all types of violence are a male domain in which the male protagonists challenge and fight one another. Without

becoming too obscure or too Freudian, the guns symbolize power and male dominance. What does seem incredible is that the radio audience accepted the fact that the police would permit an unarmed newspaper reporter to become involved in the shoot-out!

MacDonald asks can we, or should we, draw any conclusions regarding radio serial broadcasts in the 1930s? ". . . why did they become popular with American listeners, and what was there about this period that made it possible for such programming to become the favorite of millions?"[19] Anne Hummert reviewed their history:

> Nobody can understand the phenomenal success of the soaps without knowing when they were born. It was during the Depression. There was no Social Security, no welfare, nothing. The housewife was at home worrying about everything. Would her husband lose his job? Where was the family's next meal to come from? They found escape in the lives of the people on the soaps.[20]

"Just Plain Bill," was such a soap opera with Bill Davidson as the main character. It embodied the Hummert formula for soap opera success; characters were "human and lovable, their actions . . . logical, consistent and believable and painted against the canvas of simple, everyday life."[21]

For the Hummerts, "Just Plain Bill," became the first daytime serial with lasting power; it ran twenty-three years. The "homey" series featured a friendly but nosy barber in a small town called Hartville; and Bill was very, very talkative--it once took him more than a week to give a customer a haircut. Initially, the serial title was "Bill the Barber." Anne, creative and knowledgeable about interesting the female listener, retitled it, "Just Plain

Bill." To the opening and closing themes of "Darling Nellie Gray" and "Polly Wolly Doodle," Bill Davidson assisted his friends, relatives and acquaintances in running their lives.[22]

Hummerts' daytime serials were social history in microcasm founded upon the social gap. Bill, a plain man of the prairies, says, in Anne Hummert's words:

> My daughter is coming home today. I haven't seen her in eighteen years. She has been with her aunt, in fine finishing schools, and doesn't even know I'm her father. Is she going to be too good for me?[23]

Frank added, "Will she look down on her pa or will she accept him and adjust herself to his simple mode of living?"[24]

This plot line involving successful stories about unsuccessful people meant that many persons not judged materialistically successful were successful in living their own lives. Success was material success to the Hummerts. Thus, unsuccessful people were non-privileged, non-powerful and non-affluent as a class. And as a class, these "simple folk" could be only successful in non-materialistic terms; eternal, human values by being either successful in their family life or successful in the manner in which they were good neighbors and friends.

A typical episode broadcast on August 18, 1949 has this story line: one of the beneficiaries of Evelyn Grove's will is her murderer and Bill knows who it is. There are five male characters: Bill; his son-in-law Kerry; Leslie Grove; Rudy Brown; and Baker, the chauffeur. The female characters are: Evelyn Grove, murder victim; Bill's daughter, Nancy; and Mrs. Judith Seymour, Evelyn's mother.

All are present at the reading of the will. Was the husband after the money? Did Rudy, the disappointed suitor, murder the heiress although he insists, "I loved Evelyn.?" The poison bottle, found by Mrs. Seymour in Leslie Grove's room, seemingly incriminates him. Who benefits from the will? Judith Seymour laughs at the token amount she receives, $10,000 annually; Rudy receives $5,000 per year and the chauffeur, $1,000 annually. Bill declares that Leslie is "inrocent" and admonishes Baker to "tell your secret." Baker, loyal and devoted to Judith and Rudy, apparently knows the murderer. Is Baker the murderer? Tune in tomorrow.

"Just Plain Bill" integrates intereference and intimacy. Is Bill close to his daughter, Nancy? There is no verbal tenderness demonstrated in this episode. Bill is the central character and dominates the conversation. Judith is spoiled and rich, anyone who can scorn a $10,000 year bequest from her daughter degrades motherhood and rejects all the "natural" and loving characteristics of a nuturing and self-sacrificing mother.

An interesting point; the Hummerts tolerated no ambivalence in soap opera characters. Imperfect parenthood, <u>especially</u> imperfect motherhood, was rejected in Hummert serials. No mother could be bad, no mother could be domineering and no gradations were permitted; ". . . if a woman is evil, she must be wholly evil."[25] With a predominately female audience, the majority of whom were mothers, no motherhood was far better than imperfect motherhood.

Bill Davidson, the homespun philosopher, is a rational man with much common sense, but not with a formal education. Stereotypes that

would have been fatal for a female character became positive virtues with "Just Plain Bill." Negative female stereotypes such as: gossiping; time-wasting activities; too much "neighborliness; interference in the personal and professional lives of friends, relatives and acquaintances; and just plain interference were transformed into positive values and attributes of Bill; an amazing transmutation of negative female attributes into positive male attributes.

"Lorenzo Jones" is the final stereotypical male character to contrast with the older social philosophical lead such as "Just Plain Bill." The central character, Lorenzo, was an eccentric, "lovable" inventor whose devoted wife, Belle, struggled for "security" while her "impractical" husband invented a three-spouted teapot with weak, medium and strong brewing spouts.

One typical 1940s episode dealt with Belle's and Muriel Nuggins' excitement concerning a new gadget created by the young inventor, Charles Cox. Three men involved in the plot are: Lorenzo; Clarence K. Muggins, tight-fisted industrialist, characterized by Lorenzo as a "nincompoop;" Charles Cox, who with Muggins, is absent. The women are: Belle Jones, whose dialogue with Lorenzo reveals the story line; and the absent Mrs. Muriel (Clarence) Muggins.

Belle and Muriel lunch together. Muriel is ambitious and imaginative. Lorenzo refers to her as a "witch." Muriel requests Belle's advice. Lorenzo questions Mrs. Muggins' motives. Lorenzo queries whether or not Belle, his wife of sixteen years, is the "infallible Jones." He also states that Cox ". . . can't invent on the side;" invention is a full-time occupation. Although Lorenzo works at a

garage, he obviously sees no inconsistency in demanding one standard for a "young" inventor and another standard for an "older" and therefore, by inference, more experienced inventor.

The crux of the situation develops when Muriel informs Belle that Cox has finished a prototype of the invention and will be over in a half-hour for Belle to examine the model. Lorenzo then leaves the house to take a walk admonishing Belle that ". . . you will live to regret your reasonableness . . . your feet are on the skids . . . you turn your back on my inventions." Belle retorts, "you are jealous, darling."

Who is correct in this situation, Lorenzo or Belle? Is it a case of class conflict between Clarence Muggins and Lorenzo Jones? Is it a case where Lorenzo has more "intuitive" common sense than Belle? Is it a case of professional jealousy that Cox has a working model potentially capable of profitable development? Is it a case of generational antagonism--that of an older more experienced inventor versus a younger inexperienced inventor? Is it a case of "husband knows best?" All of these questions were answered by "tuning in tomorrow."

A decade later, in 1952, Lorenzo, despite his devotion to his beloved wife Belle, suffered amnesia, met, wooed and almost married another woman. The nervous breakdown and related emotional complications formerly and exclusively confined to women in the pre-war period began to afflict men in radio serials after 1945 and perhaps, more significantly, after world-wide publicity associated with Korean War "brain-washing" in America's print, aural and visual mediums.

In conclusion, my preliminary survey of male stereotypes in Hummert radio serials of the 1930s and 1940s reveals that more investigation is needed to correlate episodic serial dramas with the reality of American life. More research is necessary in order to analyze the interaction between domestic and foreign events that became the basic premises of radio serials. Additional research is also vital regarding the socio-economic backgrounds of the writers/dialoguers, creative and advertising personnel involved in the production of the radio serials. Feminist studies correlating sex-role socialization with race-role socialization and the social milieu need further research.

Finally, as we become more selective and sophisticated in exploring and describing social, sexual, generational, class and racial stereotypes in broadcast history, especially male stereotypes in radio serials of the 1930s and 1940s, we may begin to discard our obsolete "cultural baggage and begin to identify men and women, individually and collectively, as human beings.

NOTES

[1]J. Fred MacDonald, Don't Touch That Dial! Radio Programming in American Life, 1920-1960 (Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1979), pp. 31, 38, 89 hereafter cited as Don't Touch That Dial!; John W. Spalding, "1928: Radio Becomes a Mass Advertising Medium," in The Commercial Connection: Advertising and the Mass Media, ed. by John W. Wright (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1979), pp. 70-81.

[2]MacDonald, Don't Touch That Dial!, p. 36.

[3]For more extensive information consult Matilda Butler and William Paisley, The Flawed Mirror, Sourcebook on Women and the Media (Washington, D.C.: Communications Press, 1977); Judith M. Bardwick and Elizabeth Douvan, "Ambivalence: The Socialization of Women," in Women in a Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness, ed. by Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran (New York: Basic Books, 1971), pp. 147-159.

[4]MacDonald, Don't Touch That Dial!, p. 239. In a popular textbook the writer stated: "Women do an estimated eighty-five percent of the nation's shopping and hence are a most important category of the radio audience. Compared to men, women are more susceptible to political opinion and commercial suggestion, more intuitive, more prone to be identificationists, more subjective, guided more by inner perception, and more indulgent in fancy . . . . The major part of the daytime audience is made up of women, who average about 3.0 hours per day and 2.9 hours per evening listening to their radios. Women under forty

years of age spend an average of approximately 3.1 hours per day, and women over forty about 2.7 hours per day in radio listening"; Charles Hull Wolfe, Modern Radio Advertising (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1949), pp. 172-173.

[5]Alvan Havig, "Beyond Nostalgia: American Radio as a Field of of Study," Journal of Popular Culture, Vol. XII, No. 2 (Fall 1979), p. 218.

[6]"There were hundreds of other soap operas not created by the Hummerts, but compared to the prodigious output of that couple the rest seem only a footnote"; Jim Harmon, The Great Radio Heroes (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1967), p. 174. The writer will draw upon her letter correspondence with Anne Hummert (Mrs. Frank Hummert) in 1976.

[7]Trade journals, Printers Ink, Radio Daily and Advertising Age, contain business details concerning B-S-H; also New York Times, 1930-1950.

[8]In the years 1936, 1937 and 1938, the advertising agency of Blackett-Sample-Hummert (B-S-H) placed the largest amount of business on the three networks, NBC, CBS and Mutual. Specifically, B-S-H purchased in 1938 nine million dollars worth of air time and dominated radio network broadcasting. The commission on this sale for B-S-H was approximately $1,350,000; "Hummerts' Mill," Time, January 23, 1939, p. 30 and New York Times, January 12, 1939, p. 33.

[9]Raymond William Stedman, The Serials: Suspense and Drama by Installment, 2nd ed. rev. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971, 1977), pp. 310, 372; hereafter cited as The Serials.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Wolfe, Modern Radio Advertising, pp. 171-172.

[12]Stedman, The Serials, p. 236.

[13]Jim Harmon, The Great Radio Heroes (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1967), p. 167.

[14]Cassette radio shows were secured from Radio Reruns, Carl Fraelich, Jr., and others.

[15]MacDonald, Don't Touch That Dial!, p. 193.

[16]New York Times, November 29, 1942, p. 12.

[17]Oral History interview with Cynthia Lowry, West Shokan, New York, July 25, 1978.

[18]Frank Buxton and Bill Owen, The Big Broadcast, 1920-1950 (New York: Viking Press, 1972), p. 219; "Seven NBC Programs Going to Full Network," Radio Daily, March 22, 1944, pp. 1-2 and Sid Weiss, "Words and Music," Radio Daily, June 20, 1941, p. 6.

[19]MacDonald, Don't Touch That Dial!, p. 240.

[20]Interview of Anne Ashenhurst Hummert with Robert Mertz, financial columnist of the New York Times, quoted in Robert Mertz, CBS - Reflections in a Bloodshot Eye (New York: Playboy Press, 1975), p. 80.

[21]Frank Hummert stated, ". . . in radio the characters become so close to the audience and so much a part of their daily life that they come to believe it is the real thing and not make-believe at all." New York Times, January 31, 1938, IX, p. 10.

[22]Buxton and Owen, The Big Broadcast, p. 130; Harmon, The Great Radio Heroes, p. 169; and New York Times, July 29, 1956, VI, p. 4.

[23]Madeleine Edmondson and Daniel Rounds, From Mary Noble to Mary Hartman: The Complete Soap Opera Book (New York: Stein & Day Publishers, 1976), pp. 55-56.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Thomas Whiteside, "Life Can Be Terrible," New Republic, July 14, 1947, p. 22.